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Card No	C.I.	H.I.	F.I.	U.F.I.	S.(cm)	Incisors	marks	dots	C.I.	H.I.	S
							L R B A				
B 7	73.6	88.6			180.8		+	+	26		
C 8	73.4	96.2			177.1		+	+			
D 7	67.0	88.7	87.7	49.6	174.6	+	+	+	28	+	+
B 1	71.3	87.7			184.8		+	+	21		
D 9	67.4	79.2	93.0	70.4	181.1		+	+	31		
	71.5	87.9			173.2						
D 5	71.2	87.1			165.7	+	+				

The sign + means that the people practice knocking out lower incisors, or body marks.

L = Left upper arm
and shoulder

R = right upper arm
and shoulder

B = Back
A = Abdomen

the minimum

the maximum

Tribal Marks

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The most important tribal mark among the Shilluk is one row of dots or scars on the forehead called Tai which extends from near the ear to the other ear, crossing the temples. The old generations have three rows of these dots. (12) Batt writes that "Shilluk men and women have three to five rows of dots or scars.... (13) but I was unable to discover any Shilluk man or woman who had these five rows of Tai. Batt may have confused this scarification with that of the Suor and the Dinka who make five to seven deep cuts on the forehead. A profile of a Shilluk man or woman will betray a strong resemblance to someone who has a necklacc of black or brown beads stretched across his forehead. These dots are of no fixed number. (14) They vary according to the breadth of the face and the forehead. No Shilluk is exempted from this mark, but in my study I found one old fellow from the royal family (15) who happened to be born in Motema, north of Khartoum, as his mother was taken captive during the Mahdi - Shilluk war. He lived about twenty years in the north, then he came home, even having lost his Shilluk tongue. He had no Tai.

The most important tribal mark is the knocking out of the lower incisors. Seligmann wrote (16) that the royal offshoots till the fourth generation "... follow the royal practice of retaining their lower central incisors instead of having them knocked out as commoners do..." Batt also says: "Among the Shilluk the royal family alone keep their teeth intact." (17) From the results I have obtained and illustrated in table "C" we can make two observations:

- a) that not all commoners practice the knocking out of their incisors,
- b) that some royal members practice it.

The Shilluk told me that this practice was universal among the commoners in the past, but now it is practiced at all. The old belief was that the failure to knock out teeth caused sickness. It must have been contact with the Arabs that changed this belief, and with this contact the habit is going to die out.

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643 purpose. Secondly, it was clear that many persons from the southern Shilluk assumed that he would remain there for at least three nights before proceeding to Fashoda and were therefore too late to attend the ceremonies.

I reached Kwom, near Debalo, on the morning of the 6th February. At that early hour there was little activity, though many of the *reth's* followers were to be seen clustered round Debalo. There followed the usual delay while *kwa* Ojul, the clan whose duty it is to provide a heifer which is led backwards in front of the *reth* as he leaves for Fashoda, were still arguing about the number of spears and other articles they should receive as their reward; *kwa* Okelo who provide *Nyakwer*, the "girl of the ceremonies," who accompanies the *reth* and plays such an important part in the installation, were also late. Finally, 643 towards midday, all was ready. Messengers had arrived to say that Nyikang was on the move, and after stepping over the bull and the performance of the usual ritual associated with this occasion, the *reth* and his company set out for Fashoda. I watched the procession depart and as far as I could make out the formation of the bodyguard and the position of the clans was the same as in 1944, though a great deal less orderly in the initial stages of the journey. [23] Since Mr. J. C. N. Donald (who had attended the installation of *reth* Anci and of *reth* Dak) and Mr. Udal were present, I decided to leave the *reth's* party and to motor northwards to follow the army of Nyikang. Mr. Udal has recorded the details of the *reth's* march as follows:

"In fact it was not until nearly 12:30 p.m. that the procession finally set off to meet the forces of Nyikang. The *reth* appeared wearing a Mrs. Gray antelope skin surrounded by his family entourage including *Nyakwer*, her luggage carried on a retainer's head and the shield-bearer carrying the small shield of Nyikang wrapped in white cloth. In addition to his own police in their scarlet *laus*, the *reth* on his own initiative had arranged that the two [644] Government police, stationed at Debalo for the occasion, should escort him and they accompanied him throughout the ceremonies. A bull was efficiently cast for the *reth* to step over and with that the procession moved off at a brisk pace. There was no stop for refreshments at the merchant's shop at Kwom which had been honoured by *reth* Anci on his way to the installation in 1944. [24] Not until the *Ahor* Arepejur was reached did the cavalcade, deployed in extended line, come to a halt.

"The time was now about 1 p.m. On the northern bank of the watercourse the forces of Nyikang could be seen drawn up in wide formation and the effigies stood out distinctly at some quarter of a mile's distance. Two messengers from Nyikang were waiting in the bed of the watercourse, and the black bull, over which the *reth* must step, was also in evidence. A brief conversation was held with Nyikang's messengers who then returned to their master. In the meantime singularly inadequate attempts were made to cast the black bull, which delayed the proceedings by eluding its captors and running away down *Ahor* Arepejur, from which it was only retrieved with difficulty. Finally it was well and truly cast, and the *reth's* forces crossed the watercourse with much shouting and advanced to meet the forces of Nyikang."

"See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-53.

643 by the *ororo* and *kwereh* of Fashoda, a ceremony which I did not attend, though I had seen it done at the installation of *reth* Anel.

[64] If there are any observations to be made on this day's events, they are that the whole occasion was carried out in a much less serious manner than previously. The participants appeared to be light-hearted and the dangers to the *reth*, though carefully stressed, were obviously not taken so seriously. If there is any explanation of this, it is probably that the Shilluk, who have undergone the very real strain of no less than three installations in the last seven years, are now used to these events and do not regard them with such awe as before. It is also possible that Kur, as the son of a successful and popular father, was a candidate accepted with a greater degree of unanimity and calm than either of his two immediate predecessors. The number of participants seemed much less than before, possibly for the reasons already given, and because many people from the south were barred from coming owing to cerebro-spinal meningitis. One had the impression that the number of Nyikang's followers was much greater than those of the *reth*, no doubt partially due to the latter's unexpected decision to stay only one night in Dehalo and the fact that this affected his own followers rather than those of Nyikang who had marched through the northern Shilluk. Also, perhaps, because Kur, as son of Fafiti, is popular in the north while he may be less so in the south.

[23] I was not able to attend the final ceremonies. In the account by Mr. Udal which follows, it will be seen that *reth* Kur spent only one night up in the mound of *Athurric*, with the result that the ceremonies of installation from the point where he fled to Dehalo had taken only five days instead of the customary nine.

THE FINAL CEREMONIES

(By J. O. Udal)

The Battle for Nyakrer

643 The *reth* was anxious to avoid any further delays and decided to spend only one night in *Athurric*. The battle for *Nyakrer* thus took place on the third day of the installation ceremonies, not on the fourth as is usual. I arrived at about 8 a.m. on the morning of the third day and was able to exchange greetings with the *reth* from a distance although he could not leave *Athurric*: *jago* Yorleiker *wad* Ajang thought that the battle would begin very soon, but the inevitable delays followed and it was not until about 9.15 a.m. that Nyikang's drum was heard being beaten in his shrine. The *two* Nyikwom began to assemble outside the shrine from which Nyikang and Dak soon emerged and with them *Nyakrer*, dressed in a Mrs. Gray antelope skin. *Nyakrer* is the central figure of the second battle. In the morning, the *reth*, remembering *Nyakrer*, whom he had forsaken for a girl of the *ororo*, sent for her. The news was brought that Nyikang had abducted her and an ultimatum was forthwith sent by the *reth* to Nyikang demanding her immediate return. Both sides then prepared for battle.

537 Jago Yorleiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang, rose to make the first speech,
 643 carrying a spear in his hand. A delay occurred as the *reth's* drummer was
 missing and had to be found. Then jago Yorleiker, followed by jago Thabo
 of Golbainy and titular chief of Gol Dhiang, and other chiefs in order of
 precedence came forward to address the *reth* on his installation. Nearly all
 [511] carried presentation spears which were thrust into the ground in front of the
 184 *reth*, though one or two, as in the case of *kwanyireth* Akwei Anyong of Detwok,
 placed a bead on the ground. The speeches were on the whole short, and took
 the form of exhortations to the *reth* to emulate his father's example and to
 work closely with the Government; to pay attention to his elder advisers; to
 visit all the Shilluk lands and to avoid favouritism; to deal fairly with the
 [576] Shilluk. As each speaker finished he was applauded by the rattling of Nyikang's
 shield and the beating of the drum, for longer or shorter periods according to
 the quality, or perhaps, acceptability, of the speech. Those who were most
 honoured were accompanied back to their place by the shield-bearer before
 the latter turned to signal out the next speaker. Last of all the chiefs to
 [631] speak were jago Ongwany wad Kak and jago Kwathi wad Kudjok of Tonga,
 the traditional wardens of the Shilluk Marches at the northern and southern
 extremities of their country.

[428] Finally the *reth* rose to speak. He walked forward to where rows of spears
 had been stuck in the ground and there, amid reverent interjections of *wuo*
 from the assembled Shilluk, he harangued the chiefs for their failure to produce
 the cattle of the late *reth* which were his just due."

As he spoke he paced backwards and forwards along the lines of spears,
 evoking grudging grunts of agreement to his apparently rhetorical questions.
 Having delivered his speech, he stepped back, took hold of the ceremonial
 643 sword and made passes over the back of the white bull with a black face which
 782 had been tethered on his right. A Shilluk then speared the bull, again with
 considerable lack of skill, and the *reth* departed on his tour of the royal houses
 of Fashoda. A slight altercation broke out over who was to have which spears
 [578] presented by the Chiefs, but the installation of *reth* Kur wad Pafiti, the thirty-
 second *reth* of the Shilluk, was over.

"As explained in a previous article (S.N. & R., Vol. 33, Part 1) the immediate and personal heirs of the late *reth* had attempted to conceal many of the cattle which are royal property and should go to his successor.